MODERN POLICIES,

Taken from

Machiavel, *Borgia*,

And

Other choise Authors, by an Eye-Witness.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

Hom. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν νοέω, καὶ φράζομαι.

Salust. Fragm.

Libidinem dominandi, causam belli habent, & maximam gloriam in maximo imperio putant.

Plautus in Captivis.

Nam doli, non doli sunt, nisi Astu colas.
Sed malum maximum si id palam pervenit.

Trinummus.

Ambitio jam more sancta'st, Libera'st a Legibus.
Petere honorem proflagitio, more fit:
Mores Leges perduxerunt jam in potestatem suam.

The seventh Edition.

London, Printed by *J. Streater*, for *Tho: Dring*, at the signe of the *George* in *Fleetstreet*, near *Cliffords-Inne*, 1657.

To my very good Lord,

My Lord R, B, E.

My Lord,

I Was never ſo proud, as to think I could write any thing that might abide the teſt of your judicious eye: what I now ſend, appeales to your Candor, entreating you to lay aſide the per-

ſon of a Judge, for that of a friend. It is at beſt but a Pamphlet, whether you conſider its bulk, or worth. The reſult of a few penſive houres ſpent in recollecting what the memory had regiſtred from publique obſervance, or private reading, in a Theme ſo ſadly copious as this is. If it be not impertinent to tell you what hinted to this trifle, it was this: Having had opportunity to look abroad into the World, I took ſome notice of the Contraſtos of the *Italian* Princes, I remarked the *Spaniards* griping *Portugall*,

gall, his grounds for the Challenge of that Kingdom, and his way of managing thoſe grounds; I look'd upon his Method of propagating Chriſtianity in the *weſt*; (where, one ſayes, The *Indian* is bound to be religious and poor, upon pain of death.) Moreover, I obſerved with what Artifice the *Pope* moderated in the *Europæan* quarrels, and with what devices he twiſted the Goſpel, and the advantage of the Chair together, and in all the ſtruglings and diſputes, that have of late years befallen this corner

of the World, I found, that although the pretence was fine and ſpiritual, yet the ultimate end, and true ſcope, was gold, and greatneſs, and ſecular glory. But *My Lord*, to com near, when I ſaw Kingdoms tottering, one Nation reeling againſt another, yea, one peece of a Nation juſtling the other, and ſplit into ſo many parties, and petty enmities: and each of theſe quoting Bible to palliate his mad, and exorbitant opinions: I ſighed, and it grieved me to ſee popular eaſineſs, and well-meaning, abuſed by Ambitious

bitious ſelf ſeeking men; for there is a Generation that is born to be the Plague, and Diſquiet, and Scourge of the Age it lives in; that gladly Sacrifice the publick Peace to private intereſt: and when they ſee all fired, with joy warm their hands at thoſe unhappy Flames, which themſelves kindle, tuning their merry Harps, when others are weeping over a Kingdoms Funeral.

But, above all, it pierced my heart to ſee the Clergy in ſuch an high degree acceſſory to the civil diſtempers, and con-

tentions that have every where ſhaken the Foundations of Church and State, ſo that (as the Catholick noted) there hath been no ſhoud of miſery, but did ſpring from, or at leaſt was much ſwell'd by their Holy-water. I ſearched the Evangelical Records; and there was nothing but milde and ſoft Doctrines: I inquired into the breathings of the Spirit, and they were pacificatory, I wondered from what Precedents and Scripture-incouragements theſe men deduced their practiſes, and at laſt was forced to conclude, that

that they were only pretended Chaplains to the Prince of Peace: Thoſe Torches that ſhould have been for ſaving Light, were degenerated into fire-brands: Thoſe Trumpets that ſhould have ſounded Retreats to popular furies, knew no other Muſick but Martial All-arm's.

I have endeavoured in the Sequel, to repreſent to you the Arts of Ambition, by giving you the picture of a Perſon over-covetous of glory: The piece is coorſe, but yet like; drawn only in water colours, which ſome

of greater Leisure and Abilities may possibly hereafter lay in Oyle.

You know, that the desires of man are vast as his thoughts, boundless as the Ocean, πῖθος τετριμμένον, ἀπέραντον ὀπθυμίας, A bored Tub is not more insatiate. 'Tis pitty that greatness should at any time be out of the Rode of goodness; and I would sometimes, if I durst, with *Socrates*, curse him that first separated, profitable, and honest.

Iamblicus.

It does to me a little relish of Paradox, that where ever I come, *Machiavel* is verbally cursed

and

and damn'd, and yet practically embraced and asserted; for there is no Kingdom but hath a Race of men that are ingenious at the peril of the publick; so that as one said of *Galba*, in respect of his crooked body: *Ingenium Galbæ male habitat*; so may I say of these, in regard of their crooked use; That wit could not have chosen a worse mansion, than where it is viciated, and made a Pander to wickedness.

If you ask me, what I mean to trouble the World, that is already under such a glut of

Books,

Books; You may eaſily perceive, that I conſulted not at all with advantaging my name, or wooing publique eſteem by what I now write; I knew there was much of naked truth in it, and thought it might poſſibly be of ſome caution to prevent the inſinuation of pious frauds, and religious fallacies, into my native Country; If any plain-hearted, honeſt man ſhall caſt away an houre in peruſing it, he may perhaps finde ſomething in it, reſembling his own thoughts, and not altogether ſtrange to his own experience. It is not

the

the leaſt of our misfortunes, that ſins and vices are oft-times endear'd to us by falſe Titles and Complements; being couzened with a ſpecious name, though much incoherent to the thing we aſcribe it: or elſe, omitting the vice which is the Main, it intimates onely the vertue, which is the By: As for example, we call an ambiguous man μεγαλεπήβολος, a perſon of Noble aim, and high enterprize: whereas in truth, it ſignifies, an indirect affector of Grandeur: And I finde, that by incautelous entertainment of

theſe

theſe Phraſes, our judgements are often bribed to miſapprehenſions, and we ſeduced to bad actions. I have endeavoured in the enſuing diſcourſe, to wipe off the paint and fucus: that ſo things may appear in their true complexion, unadulterated with the ſlights and ſubtilties of Deluders.

My Lord, That your Lordſhip may be one of thoſe which the dark Poet calls δὶς ἠβήσαντας, that the youth of your Honours may be renewed to you, that your happineſs

may

may know no other ſeaſon but a Spring, is the earneſt vote

Of your

bounden

SERVANT.

TO

To the Reader.

Reader,

THat nothing in this might deter a common eye, the quotations are translated, not κατὰ πόδας, but as might best serve the sense and scope of the Authour: yet I believe thou wilt find little in the English, which is not warranted by the Original, or (which is more) by the Truth. I invite none to it, but

but such as desire to be just valuers, and loyal observers of a good Conscience. Now, if thou beest not banished by the verdict of thine own breast, thou art welcome; otherwise read it, not as directed to thee, but meant of thee. This Book is like a Garment in a Brokers Shop, not designed to any one person, but made for any that it fits.

My intent was, to represent to you in the Generall (not mentioning particulars) a cursed, a wicked, but yet a fortunate Politician: 'Twas a good caution, that Cassius *gave the Senate, concerning* Pompey,——

Nos

Nos illum deridemus, ſed timeo ne Ille nos gladio ἀναμυκτηρίσῃ: *'Tis fooliſh to laugh in the face of* Dionyſius, *and dangerous to ſhrug before* Andronicus: *'tis not good to tempt the diſpleaſures of Tyrants upon idle ſcores, a thin ſhield will ſerve to keep out the ſtyle of a Satyriſt; nor can I commend him that loſt his Biſhoprick for a Romance.*

Therefore I brand not perſons, but things; and if any mans guilt flaſhes in his face when he reads, let him mend the errour, and he is unconcerned. 'Tis to no purpoſe to tell that there is a ſecond part, twin, and coeta-

neous

neous to this, that was once intended to run the same fortune; but I have many reasons, besides my own weaknesse to publish a valediction to the Presse, (especially as to discourses of this nature,) And if ever, I would fain have it seen by a fairer light.

The great God of Heaven poure into us such inward props and comforts, as may help us to stem and bear up against the rugged traverses of degenerous times.

And let it beget in us milder opinions of adversity, when we consider that the winter of affliction does the better fit us to bear the

eternal

eternal verdure of Glory.

The time will come, when all ſhadows and apparitions ſhall vaniſh: Glorious Morn! when wilt thou dawn? Then theſe ſullen Clouds ſhall be ſcattered, Right reſtored, Worth prized, Vertue honoured, Vice degraded, and Honeſty rewarded.

Farewell.

THE Name of *Prince*, which I often uſe, muſt be underſtood, as convertible with any perſon, or perſons, whom God hath intruſted with a juſt ſupremacy; all the dialects of Government being concerned in the Abuſe; I have made the chief, and moſt familiar to repreſent the reſt.

I am not ignorant, that the Quotations may juſtly ſeem more numerous than Method, and the rule of Art will conveniently

ently allow. I have this to ſay, to vindicate me from affectedneſs; that I have been little ſtudious of Elegance, and curioſity in the compoſure; eſteeming nakedneſs to be the beſt dreſs of truth: and if I miſtake not, thoſe attendants I have here procured her, may afford ſome material, though little ornamental advantage.

A Præmonition.

IT is farre from the design of this Treatise, to derogate from the honour of the calling, or worth of the person of any sober Statesman; 'Tis a knowledge that no man observes with more due respects than my self; Because, I know it in no mean degree essential to the peace, and flourishing condition of a Kingdom, or Common-wealth. 'Tis a jewel to be locked

up in ſome few rare Cabinets; and not to be made cheap, and expos'd to irreverence, by being bared, and proſtituted to every vulgar eye. The *Pſeudo-Policy* here mentioned is contradiſtinct to that ſcience, which is ever built upon Piety and Prudence; for upon theſe ſolid Baſes, your wiſe Architect delights to raiſe the glorious ſuperſtructure of Government in a Prince, and ſubjection in a People: ſo knitting the intereſt of both, with reciprocal mixture, that the welfare of the one may be involved in the good of the

the other: that Majesty may be preserved in its just splendor, and yet the liberty of the subject remain inviolate: He is the *Atlas* of the falling State, cures it when sick, sets it when dis joynted, meets it in its several pressures with suitable reliefs. Such was *Philip de Commines*, of whom one said, it was a measuring cast, whether *Lewis* were the wiser King, or *Philip* the wiser Counsellor; such was *Burleigh* to our late Queen *Elizabeth*, whose advice had very eminent influence into the prosperity of her Reign, which was such as

I believe few ages can parallel, and future times will render her happy Annals, as written like *Xenophon's Cyrus*, *Non ad hiſtoriæ fidem ſed ad exemplum juſti Imperii; diſcovering not ſo much what was, as what ſhould be: not intended for a true Hiſtory, but for the Effigies of a juſt Empire.* So that if we love peace, or plenty, or liberty, we are bound in way of acknowledgement, to own that in *Plutarch*,

Cato Maj. τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς ἄνθρωπος ἐπιτάττει τελειοτέραν. True Policy deſerves to be put in the firſt file of Vertues.

But

But as the corruption of the beſt things makes them worſt, ſo this noble knowledge hath been abuſed to looſe and ambitious ends, by ſome men who ſeem to have ſuck'd the venome out of all poliricks, miſapplying what was good, and creating new, according to the urgency of their own occaſions, like the Lawes that were made in *Cauſinus* his *Babel*, to be ruled by manners, and not manners by Lawes. They vex true Policy by miſ-interpreting, and falſe gloſſing; framing in their hearts, *Diana's* of hypocriſie and

Ophyogenes, & Pſylli.

Furialibus commentariis illuſtran

ſubtilty, and worſhipping them in their actions.

The Rules following, there are few ſo ſilly as to believe, though too many ſo wicked as to practiſe; and not only ſo, but by a bold impoſture to perſwade, that ſuch actions as are deduc'd from thoſe principles are juſtifiable, and if fortunate, commendable.

That all may ſee theſe Rocks, and ſhun them, and deteſt knavery, though never ſo ſpecious; and nauſeate ſin, though robed in ſucceſſes and triumphs, is my daily prayer.

First

First Principle.

The Polititian muſt have the ſhadow of Religion, but the ſubſtance hurts.

THere is no Superſtition in Politicks more odious, than to ſtand too much upon niceties and ſcruples: and therefore *Machiavel* cut the hair, when he adviſed, not abſolutely to diſavow conſcience, but to manage it

with ſuch a prudent neglect, as is ſcarce diſcernable from a tenderneſs: not permitting it to be techy and reluctıng, nor yet proſtituting it, unleſs upon ſolemn and inſuperable occaſions: He notes it from *Papirius* in *Livy*, who ſlighted the *Pullarii* handſomly, & was rewarded; whereas *Appius Pulcher* did it groſly, and was puniſhed.

But becauſe the Polititian is beſt able to tell his own documents, you may pleaſe to conceive you found theſe broken diſcourſes in his ſtudy: to teach of which I ſhall adde

adde an Antidote.

External holineſs invites awful regards; there is no mask that becomes Rebellion and Innovation ſo well as Religion; Nothing that ſo much conceals deformity, and pretends beauty. 'Tis an excellent thing ſo to diſſimulate piety, that when we act ſtrongly againſt it, in that very article of wickedneſſe the people Saint us. *Herod* would fain worſhip, when he means to worry.

——*Ipſo ſceleris molimine*
Tereus
Creditur eſſe pius:

In th' act of sin do but Religion cry,
Sayes Tereus, *you as holy are as I.*

This is that which leads the world in a string, that hallowes the most hellish enterprises: for the common people (which are the τὸ πολὺ) never see behind the Curtain, a handsome glosse is with them as good as the Text: I believe the great Naturalist was in the right, when he called a Deity a jolly Invention, *Irridendum, agere curam rerum humanarum quicquid est summum, sed credi ex usu vitæ est*; 'Tis ridiculous to think, that

Plin. l. 2. Cap. 6.

that God troubles himſelf about ſublunary things, but 'tis not fit the world ſhould know it. Let me injoy the temporal advantages of Religion, and let others take the eternall; Let me uſe it for a Cloak or a Crutch, and let others expect from it a Crown.

The River in *Athenæus* is my emblem, whoſe upper waters were ſweet and grateful, but towards the bottom brackiſh. Let me be a ſuperficial, let others be fundamental Chriſtians: I like the humor of the *Samſeans* in *Epiphanius*, that were neither *Jews* nor *Gentiles*, nor *Chriſtians*,

43 *Fons in Miletō cujus profluens aqua dulciſsima, quæ vero in imo ſalſa.*

ans, but preſerving a *commodious* Correſpondence with all; whatſoever I act in reference to Heaven, is meerly theatrical; and done in ſubordination to ſome other intereſt. *Lycurgus* could never have ingratiated his Lawes ſo effectually, if he had not pretended a Dialogue with his Goddeſſe. 'Tis to me indifferent, whether the Religion I perſonate be true or falſe, ſo it be but popular: and if the people I mean to juggle with, erre fundamentally; I can by no meanes court them more, than by embracing their de-

deluſion. It buckles them very cloſe to me in moral obſervance, to aſſiſt them in their ſpiritual fondneſs, and mix with their diſtemper; and therefore I commonly lead the Van in the Faction, and call it *Jure Divino*, though I never found it but in Hell's black Canons.

How comfortably the *Pope* and *Cardinals* conferred notes, ——*Quantum nobis lucri peperit illa fabula de Chriſto!* *How profitable has the Tale of Chriſt been to us?* O the rich income and glorious reſult of Hypocriſie! This, this

this must be diligently studied and practised.

----Da justum sanctumque videri,
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem.
If that my deeds of darkness may
Be hid in Clouds as black as they;
If being ugly I may paint,
Why then I am a true new Saint.

Privacy for a sin and cleanly conveyance for a cheat, make it to common eyes, seem as white as innocency it self: the strictnesse of that Thief, was very

very notable, who always before he went about the Work of his Calling (for so he called ſtealing) went to prayers, that God would bleſſe and proſper him, So, I ſay grace to the Deſign; be it never ſo wicked; and give thanks for the ſucceſs, be it never ſo bloody.

But further in ſubſerviency to a looſe intereſt, there muſt be no ſuch puling thing as Conſcience: Hell, and Heaven, and Scripture, and what elſe the Chriſtian reſteems moſt ſacred, muſt all truckle under the plot, but not be obſerved when they

they come to oppoſe it: Had *Alexander* boggled at invading other mens Kingdoms, he had never wept for the ſcarcity of Worlds. There is no greater obſtacle to generous Actions, then a coy and ſquemiſh Conſcience; 'Tis pretty that ſome tel us, that it ſtrikes *Surdo verbere*, *With a ſtill and ſilent ſtroke*; and then how can it be heard in the noyſe and buſtle of a clamorous World? Had your mighty Conquerors, and your valiant Captains, and your thriving Popes, liſtned to this inward Charmer,

their

their Names had never ſwel'd, and look'd big in the Rolls of Fame.

Cola-

Colasterion.

BUT let all sober Christians know, that this Shell of Religion, though it may be of external conducement, yet there is nothing that Gods pure and undeluded eye looks on with more abhorrency: We may possibly deceive men, but it is in vain to put Ironies upon God. A counterfeit Religion shall find a reall Hell, and 'tis pitty that such a Sacred thing should be *violenced*, and made subservient to rebellious

bellious irregular de-
ſignes.

As for ſuch who have
conſpir'd with the wrath
of God in the ſtupefacti-
on of their Conſciences,
though they may for a
time ſtruggle with thoſe
inward checks, yet there
will be a day (if not in
this life) when that Wit-
neſs, that judge, that Ju-
ry, will not be bribed.
God hath fixed it in the
ſoul, as an internal Regi-
ſter, as an impartial Di-
ary, as the *Cenſor* of the *Origen.*
affections, & Pædagogue
of the Paſſions. It does
not only illuſtrate Divine
juſtice in an *Autocatacri-*

ſy,

ſy, but was meant by God for a bridle and reſtriction: And he that hath by an inveterate wickedneſs conquered the oppoſition which God ſeated in his heart to ſin, may poſſibly conſult well with his preſent advantage and greatneſſe, but not at all with his future comfort; for beſides the loſſe of that intimate pleaſure which waits upon innocency; He feels ſometimes, thoſe Boſom-quarrels that verberate and wound his Soul, ---for

Vinum in pectore.

Συνείδησις τὴν Ψυχὴν πλήττει.

Prin-

Principle II.

The Politician must by all meanes, make the most insinuating applications to the People that he can; and lock up his own designe, in pretence for Religion, Liberty, Restitution of Lawes, Reformation of Gabels, &c.

THe Prosperity of Innovation depends in a high measure upon the right knack of kindling and fomenting jealousies, and dislikes in the people; and then weilding those

Grudges

Grudges to the favour and advantage of private ends; for the people are to the Politician, like Tools to the Mechanick, he can perform nothing without them, they are his wings, his wheels, his implements, the properties that he acts with.

That this may be done effectually there must be an excellency, in these following slights.

First, To assigne such a cause of grievances, and such a course for redress, as may open a way to the alteration he aimes at: as, if he meanes to alter the Government, or to engrosse

groſſe the Supremacy, he muſt artificially convince of a neceſſity to arm, 1. Defenſively, and if that ſucceeds, 2. Offenſively; This he may do by falſe Alarms of danger, inventing horrid newes, and plying the people with ſuch fictitious perils, as may make them believe, Religion and Liberty, and all is at ſtake, and that they are the Geeſe that muſt ſave the Capitol.

Secondly, When he ſees opportunity to reveal his own deſign, he muſt do it gradually, and by piece-meale; for that which at one view would be

ἐκ προσαγωγῆς.

be a Mormo to fright them, give it them in ſmall parts, and they will digeſt it well enough.

Thirdly, He muſt compoſe his very Garb and Geſture: 'tis a great matter to tell a lye with a grace; as, if Religion be the Mode, he muſt in his tales knock his breaſt, atteſt God, and invoke imprecations upon himſelf if he does not do that, which hee never intends.

Fourthly, he gives them good words, and bad actions, like thoſe the Hiſtorian brands with a *Crudelitatem damnatis, crudelitatem*

litatẽ initiis, raviſhes them with apprehenſions of Liberty, under the higheſt ſtrain of oppreſſion: for it is moſt certain, if you pleaſe them with the name, they will imbrace it for name and thing. Something like this had been impoſed upon *Rome*, when the Orator writ to his Friend *Atticus*, ---*Nomina rerum perdidimus, & licentia militaris libertas vocatur*, that they were cheated in names, for military Licence was miſcalled Liberty; This is well deſcribed by *Plautus* in *Truculento*.

Ingenioſa muſcipulatores.

In melle ſunt linguæ ſitæ veſtræ, atque orationes,
Lacteque: corda felle ſunt ſita, atque acerbo aceto.
E linguis dicta dulcia datis,
at corde amarè facitis.
Pretence white as milk,
And as ſoft as ſilk
Will do the feat:
Your hearts as ſowre as Gall,
Purpoſe our thrall,
And thus ye cheat.

Fifthly, He obſerves, that they receive probabilities wiſely propounded, more greedily than naked truths: and therefore he is very ſtudious to glaze and poliſh his Impoſtures, that ſo they may

γλυκὺ ψεῦδος.

to

to a loose eye dissemble truth, according to that of *Pindar*.

—— Βροτῶν φρένα ——
ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον,
δεδαιδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις,
ἐξαπατῶνται μῦθοι:

Glorious Lyes,
Well marshal'd tales
Do still find favour:
Truth all forlorn
Intreats and wooes,
But none will have her.

But that of *Menander*:

τὸ πιθανὸν ἴσχυν τῆς ἀληθείας ἔχει
ἐνίοτε μείζω, καὶ πιθανοτέραν ὄχλου.

Let but the vulgar judge
(the Poet knew)
They'd take the probable
and leave the true.

Sixthly, when he hath by the assistance of the people, got the Sword into his own hands, he awes them with it, and frights them into future complyance. He that courted them before with all the adulatory terms that ambition could invent, or they receive; as if he had been vow'd their Martyr, and ready to sacrifice his deareſt enjoyments upon the Altar of publique liberty and freedom; as if his veins knew no other blood, but such as he would be proud to spend in their service, having now served himself of them,

them, he forgets the bosome that warmed him; they hear from him now in a palinode; he curles up his ſmooth Complements into ſhort Laconicks, and exchanges his Court-ſhip for Command.

Colaſterion.

FIrſt, We may be aſſured, that there is no greater Index of ambition, than an affectation of popularity: which appears in meek addreſſes to the people, wooing and familiar condeſcentions, bemoaning their ſufferings, commending a more vigorous ſenſe of them; that of the *Comick* is no bad rule,

Non temerarium eſt ubi dives blandè appellat pauperem,

Al-

Altera manu fert lapidem, panem oſtentat altera:
Nemini credo, qui longe blandu' ſt dives pauperi.
'Tis not for nought, when thoſe above
Tender their ſervice, and their love.
Theſe are but profitable Arts,
Their tongues are ſtrangers to their hearts.

Or that which *Livy* notes of a Grandee, *Credebant haud gratuitam in tantâ ſuperbiâ comitatem fore, Pride never condeſcends without deſign.* The extream kindneſs of fawning of great perſons, is alwayes ſuſpicious, becauſe often

often fraudulent: remember the *Sileni*, that use to kill with hugs, and embraces.

Secondly, Know it is very usual for men to personate goodness, till they have accomplished their ends; 'tis observed of *Appius*, when he had his wish, *Finem fecit gerendæ alienæ personæ; He left wearing of another mans person*: 'tis an old note,

Maxima pars morem hunc homines habent; quod sibi volunt,
Dum id impetrant, boni sunt, sed id ubi jam penes sese habent,
Ex bonis pessimi, & fraudulentissimi sunt, Be-

Before the man
Had got his end
He was all puritan:
What he would have
He thus obtained,
And then resumed Knave.

Athenæus tells a prety story, of one *Athenion*, born obscurely, who as long as he was private and poor, excelled in a soft and tractable disposition, but when by jugling he had obtained the *Athenian* Government, there was none more odious for a cruel, covetous and barbarick tyranny: as it is reported of *Caligula*, there was never a bet-

ter Servant, and a worſe Maſter.

Thirdly, We know, that a good aim, much leſſe a good pretence cannot juſtifie a bad action, and therefore we ought to be as Solicitous about the lawfulneſs of the meanes, as about the goodneſs of the end. It is a *Maxim* in Morality, that *bonum oritur ex integris*, and in Chriſtianity, that we muſt not do evil, that good may come of it; and we may poſſibly reſcue our ſelves from future couſenage, if we examine the lawfulneſs of every circumſtance, leading

leading to the end propounded, before we are tickled and tranſported with the beauty of the pretence.

Prin-

Principle III.

If the Supremacy be invaded, the Lapſes of the former Magiſtrate muſt be inculcated with the greateſt advantage, and what is wanting in reality, muſt be ſupplyed in Calumny.

IT cannot eaſily be imagined of what ſingular importance the aſperſing and blotting of a Prince is, to boyl up popular diſcontent to that height, which is requiſite for a rebellion; and here it muſt diligently be enquired, if there

there have not bin indeed ſuch lapſes, as have galled the people; & though they be old ſores and skin'd, yet they muſt be ſearched & refreſhed, and exaſperated with all the urging circumſtances that come within the invention of ſcandall; It muſt be remembred, if any perſons of publique note have ſuffered under the Sword of Juſtice, whoſe crimes can by Art or Eloquence be extenuated, whoſe hard meaſure muſt be mentioned with teares, that ſo old Traytors may be propounded

for

for new *Martyrs*. This hath bin the ordinary Method of Ambition, as you may find it noted by a great Scholar, in these words,-- *Fuit hæc omnibus sæculis, & ad huc est ad occupandam tyrannidem expeditissima via, dum summo se amore, ac pietate in patriam esse simulant, principum vitia, & populi miseriam, apud suos primùm, deinde palam querebundâ voce lamentantur, non quòd plebem, cujus solius commodis inservire videri volunt, ab illo servitutis jugo asserant in libertatem; sed quo populari aurâ subnixi, aditum sibi & januam ad eam ipsam dignitatem, nequiora*

Barckay contra Monarch. 30

quiora aliquando auſuri patefaciant. It was ever the moſt compendious way of uſurpation, to diſſemble a ſtrong affection to our Country; lamenting the vices of the Prince, & miſeries of the People; not with an intent to reſcue them from ſervitude, but to get ſuch a portion of favour, as may lift us up to the ſame pitch of honour on their ſhoulders; which having obtained, we tranſcendently abuſe, changing the Rods of Royality into the Scorpions of Anarchy, Ariſtocracy, or a free State.

'Tis the faſhion of fortunate

tunate Rebels, to feed the people with ſhells, and empty names, as if their bare aſſertion could demonſtrate to us (againſt all experience) that 'tis freedom to be ſlaves to *Quondam* Peaſants, and ſlavery to be ſubjects to a true and natural Prince. And therefore if the Prince be ſevere, he gives them *Neros* brand, a man kneaded up of dirt and blood: if he be of parts and contrivance, he calls it pernicious ingenuity: If he be milde and favourable to tender Conſciences, he declaims againſt his toleration. If he urge

uni-

uniformity, and decency in divine ſervice, he rails at his Superſtition. And becauſe there is no ſuch æquilibrious vertue, but has ſome flexure to one of the extremes he is very careful to publiſh the extreme alone, and to ſilence the vertue.

But if the Prince hath by carriage of extraordinary innocence, vindicated himſelf from obloquy (which ſhall ſcarce be, if ſmall faults be rightly improved) then *Machiavels* advice muſt be followed, to calumniate ſtoutly, till the people have entertained ſomething

thing to his prejudice: 'Tis a figure in Politiques to make every infirmity a fault, and every fault a crime: and if the People be disposed to alteration, these must be first urged against a Monarch to depose him, or if need be, to murther him; which is commendable, if you can dresse him up like a Tyrant, as you may find it justified by an honest *Scot*, who complains, that there are not some glorious rewards appointed for Tyrannicides: and by the best of Orators; *Græcos, Deorum honores tribuisse iis, qui Tyrannos necaverunt,*

Buchanan.

Pro Milone.

The

The Grecians gave divine honors to thoſe that kill'd Tyrants. And by the Tragedian,

Victima haud ulla amplior poteſt.
Magiſve opima mactari Jovi, *Herules furens.*
Quàm Rex iniquus.
More grateful victime none to Jove can bring,
Then is the blood of ſlaughter'd unjuſt King.

And ſecondly, theſe perſonal faults muſt be artificially devolved upon *Monarchy* it ſelf.

There remains to diſperſe the commendation of

of that Government, which is intended for a Succeſſor: if *Ariſtocracy*, the long-liv'd proſperity of *Sparta* and *Venice*, is a very plauſible evidence of its goodneſs: If *Democracy*, the happineſs of the *Romans* under their Tribunes, is very memorable; to which may be added this out of *Machiavel*, that they are the moſt ſuitable guardians of any thing, who are leaſt deſirous to uſurp it: and without doubt, conſidering the Deſignes of the Nobility: and the people, we muſt confeſſe, that the firſt are very

Vpm. Levi. p. 22.

very ambitious of rule, the laſt deſire only not to be oppreſt.

Cola-

Colaſterion.

I Preſume that Perſon is very rare, that can boaſt of ſuch an abſolute Saintſhip, whileſt he is amongſt mortalls, but that there will now and then ſome actions fall from him, which confeſs humanity, and require Candor, ſome leaves in the volume of the faireſt life, are *legenda cum veniâ:* If this be a common frailty, why do we fix ſuch rigid cenſures upon the miſcarriages of Princes? or why do we deny them the

the ſame mildneſs which we uſe, when we commiſerate the infirmities of other men? 'tis yet much more diſ-ingenuous to revive and pore upon a few bad actions, which, it may be, have been long agoe expiated with many good: Take this from no meane Statiſt---*Iniqua in omni re accuſando, prætermiſsis bonis, malorum enumeratio, vitiorumque ſelectio; nam ne ullus quidem iſto modo magiſtratus vituperabilis non erit*, 'Tis an unjuſt way of accuſing to omit the good Offices of a Prince, and to ſelect and publiſh only his bad; for by

by this means, no Magiſtrate ſhall be innocent.

As greatneſs gives a Gloſſe to the Vertues of a Prince, ſo it mitigates his Vices; for if we look upon him as circled with honour, and all outward enjoyments; we ſee withall, what variety of temptations he hath to ſtruggle with above others, having no other Guard, no other Weapon than his meer vertue; ſometimes we are defended from a ſin, by our very impotency; it may be above our ſphere, or out of our reach; we do not, becauſe we cannot; how often are

our

times thought, they do by theſe papers pleaſe themſelves in their abilities to delude, & ſo gratifie their tyranny over the nobleſt part of man, by denying the liberty of the thought and ſubduing the powers of the ſoul to an implicit coherence with their own Magiſterial opinions.

But our Polititian, by quoting the ſucceſs of his undertakings, beſides the plauſibleneſs and inſinuating nature of the Propoſition it ſelf, hath the advantage of power to make us believe him.

Nor is this bait contemptible; many of parts

and prudence, yea and of Religion have been ſtagger'd by it. Some queſtion whether *Dionyſius* deſerv'd the brand of Atheiſm, conſidering the wild conceits they then had of their Gods; or differed from the common Creed, crying out, O how the Gods favour Sacriledge! when he had a merry gale after a ſacrilegious attempt. The beſt of the Roman Hiſtorians calls the Victory, the juſt Arbitreſſe of the Cauſe, *Eventus belli, velut æquus Judex, unde jus ſtat, ei victoriam dabit*, *The event of the Warre, like an impartial*

partial Judge, ſhall knit Victory and right together: So hard it is to perſwade meer reaſon, that Vertue may be unfortunate, and Vice happy:

He was no ſmall Poet, that argued himſelf out of his Gods, by ſeeing wickedneſs honoured, and worth ſlighted: which he expreſſes thus,

Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo,
Pompeius nullo; quis putet eſſe Deos?

In Engliſh.

Licinus *does in Marble ſleep,*

A common Urn does Cato
keep,
Pompey's *Aſhes may catch*
cold;
That there are Gods, let Do-
tards hold.

There may be ſome uſe made of that in *Seneca*, *Honeſta quædam ſcelera ſucceſſus facit*, Proſperous miſchiefs are Cardinal vertues in the Worlds Ethicks; and therefore the Tragedian repeats it, *Proſperum ac Fœlix ſcelus virtus vocatur*. The unwarrantableneſs is hid and concealed in the glory of the ſucceſs; we often praiſe the Macedonian

Herc. Fur.

Con-

Conqueſt, but ſeldom mention their boundleſs and unjuſt ambition.

On the contrary, if an undertaking really good miſcarry, we cenſure it: ſo that according to the vogue of the World, 'tis the event that gives the colour to the action, and denominates it good or bad, τὸ κρατῆσον τιμῶμεν, τὸ ἀπολωλὸς καταγέλωμεν. *We adore the fortunate, and deſpiſe the Conquer'd.*

Colaſterion.

THere is ſome of this Leaven in the judgements of moſt, notwithſtanding thoſe brighter diſcoveries, in the Noon of Chriſtianity we live under. A Bible throughly obſerv'd, would expound to us much of the Riddle, and dark paſſages of providence: we are ſo ſhortſighted, that we cannot ſee beyond time; we value things, and men, by their temporal proſperities, and tranſient glories; whereas if we put Eternity into the

the other ſcale, it would much out-poyſe that worldly luſtre, that ſo much abuſes our eye, and couſens our underſtandings.

I find not in holy writ, that God hath inſeparably annex'd goodneſs and greatneſs, juſtice and victory: He hath ſecured his Servants of the felicities of a better life, but not of this. Chriſts Kingdom was not, our happineſs is not of this world.

Nor doth my Bible ſhew me any warrant for appeal to Heaven for the deciſion of this, or that intricacy: by beſtowing

ceſs upon this Party, or that Cauſe, according to its righteouſneſs, and due merit. There is a vaſt difference betwixt ἀτύχημα and ἀδίκημα, even in Scripture conſtruction.

The Great Turk may juſtly exſult and prune himſelf in diſcourſes of this nature, if they be once admitted, and own'd by Chriſtians: And I ſhall forbear any longer, to think *Mahomet* an Impoſtor, and muſt receive the *Alcaron* for Goſpel, if I ſhall be convinced, that temporal happineſs and Triumph, are a true Index of divine Favour.

Our

Our Religion hath ſomething more to invite our cloſure with it; it propoſes a conveniency on Earth, but the Crowns and Garlands are reſerv'd for Heaven.

The Money-God in *Ariſtophanes*, pretends a command from *Jupiter*, to diſtribute as great a Largeſs to the wicked, as to the good; becauſe if vertue ſhould once impropriate riches, that fair Goddeſs would be more wooed for her Dowry, then for her native beauty: So if Religion were attended with thoſe outward allurements that in Πλουτῳ

moſt take the ſenſes; we ſhould be apt to follow Chriſt for the loaves, and over-look the ſpirituall charms, and more noble ends of Chriſtianity.

The Heathen could ſay, *Fœlix prædo, mundo exemplum inutile*, Happy Piracy is a thing of unhappy preſidency; fortunate ſins may prove dangerous temptations; But to ſay, that God doth ſignally atteſt the actions of ſuch a perſon, or the juſtice of ſuch a cauſe, by permitting it to proſper, and taper up in the World, is ſuch a deceit, as deſerves

our

our ſerious abhorrency.--- I leave it with *Ovids* wiſh,

—Careat ſucceſsibus opto,
Quiſquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.

Let him for ever in ſucceſs be poor,
That thinks it juſtifies his cauſe the more.

Prin-

Principle VI.

The Politician must change with the times.

THat Alterations and Revolutions in Kingdoms, are the Rods with which God ſcourges miſcarrying Princes, is reſolved by my Lord of *Argenton*: to which may be added out of *Ariſtotle*, in the fifth of his Politiques—*Per fraudem & dolum regna evertuntur*, That the ruines of a Kingdom, are often derived from fraud and

and ſubtilties: I ſhall omit inquiry into other Cauſes, as forreign to my preſent purpoſe.

The Polititian knowes beſt how to improve theſe popular Guſts, becauſe he cauſed them: ſuch a ſtorm is his Seed-time. 'Tis the boaſt of a *Dutchman*, that he can ſail with all winds: the aſpiring man obſerves the quarter whence the fair'ſt gales of preferment blow, and ſpreads the ſails of his Ambition to entertain them; nor can the Compaſs breath more varieties, than his dexterous ſoul has changes and garbs,

garbs, and ſuitable compliances.

What the Orator calls his top and perfection, to make happy application to the ſeveral humours and genius of all ſorts of men, qualifying his addreſs with what he knowes, will moſt charm the perſon he treats: that the Polititian does not only with his lip, but life, you may find all thoſe Figures and Tropes digeſted into his actions, and made practical, that are in the other only vocal.

He remembers that of an Engliſh Marqueſs

(*Pawlet*

(*Pawlet* of *Winchester*) who having ſucceſsfully ſerved four Princes, and ſtill in the ſame room of favour, unſhaken with the viciſſitudes he had run through; being ask'd by one, by what meanes he preſerved his fortune? he replies, that he was made, *ex ſalice, non ex quercu*, of the pliant Willow, not ſtubborn Oak, alwayes of the prevailing Religion, and a zealous Profeſſor. This eaſines and bending is of abſolute neceſſity; for, if the ſame temper, which inſinuated in violent times, were retain'd in a compoſed and ſetled Go-

Nanton's *Regalia.*

Government, it would be altogether diſtaſtful; and ſo, on the contrary.

Therefore if Religion be faſhionable, you can ſcarcely diſtinguiſh him from a Saint: He does not only reverence the holy Miniſters, but if need be, he can preach himſelf: If Cunctation prevails, he acts *Fabius*: If the Buckler muſt be changed for a Sword, he perſonates *Marcellus*: If mildneſs be uſeful, *Soderini* of *Venice* was not more a Lamb than he: If ſeverities are requiſite, *Nero's* Butcheries are Sanctities, compared with his:

his: As *Alcibiades*, in *Plutarch*, ſhifted diſpoſition as he altered place (being voluptuous and jovial in *Ionia*, frugal and retir'd in *Lacedæmon*) ſo he proportions himſelf to time, place, perſon, Religion, with ſuch a plauſibleneſs, as if he had been born only to ſerve that opinion, which he harboured but as a gueſt, whileſt it continued in ſway: having a room in his heart, if occaſion be, to lodge the contrary, and to cry it up with as much ardour, as he once uſed to extoll the former. And thus like a ſubtle *Proteus*, he aſſumes

that

that ſhape that is moſt in grace, and of moſt profitable conducement to his ends, *In eo ſtant conſilia, quod ſibi conducere putat, All his conſultations turn upon the hinge of ſelf-intereſt.*

He abounds in that which *Varro* calls, *verſatile ingenium*, a voluble wit, like the changeling derided by *Plautus*, as more turning than a Potter's wheel.

Rota figulari verſatilior.

He hath this advantage of the *Camelion*, that he can aſſume whiteneſs; for I find him often wearing the veſt of innocency, to conceal the uglineſs, and black-

blackneſs of his Attempts.

Finally, he is the Heliotrope to the Sun of Honour, and hath long ſince abjured his God, Religion, Conſcience, and all that ſhall interpoſe, and skreen him from thoſe beams, that may ripen his wiſhes, and aims into enjoyments.

Cola-

Colaſterion.

BUt the true Stateſman is inviolably conſtant to his principles of vertue and religious prudence; his ends are noble, and the means he uſes, innocent: he hath a ſingle eye on the publick good; and if the Ship of the State miſcarry, he had rather periſh in the wreck, than preſerve himſelf upon the plank of an in-glorious ſubterfuge. *His* worth hath led him to the *Helm*, the Rudder he uſes, is an honeſt

neſt and vigorous wiſdom, the Star he looks to for direction is in *Heaven*, and the port he aims at, is the joynt welfare of Prince & People.

This conſtancy is that ſolid Rock upon which the wiſe *Venetian* hath built its long-liv'd Republick: So that it is not improbable the Maiden-Queen borrow'd her Motto of *Semper eadem*, from this Maiden Common-wealth.

'Tis true, ſomething is to be conceded to the place, and time, and perſon; and I grant that there are many innocent compli-

pliances. *Virgil's Obliquare ſinus*, is obſervable, there may be a bending without a crookedneſs: We may *circumire*, and yet not *aberrare*; *Paul* became a Jew, that he might gain the Jews, but he did not become a ſinner, that he might gain ſinners; *He* was made all things to all men, but he was not made ſin to any: that is, his condeſcenſions were ſuch, as did well conſiſt with his Chriſtian integrity.

Greatneſs, & *H*onours, and *R*iches, and Scepters, thoſe glorious temptations, that ſo much inamour the

the doting World, are too poor ſhrines for ſuch a ſacrifice as Conſcience, which the Politician hath ſo much abuſed by an inveterate neglect, that it is become Menſtruous, Ephemerall.

Prin-

Principle VII.

If the Polititian find reason to impose Oaths, Let them be of such ambiguity, as may furnish with a sense obliging to the design, and yet so soft as the people may not feel the snare.

IT appeares by sad experience, that in propounding of Oaths, requiring promises, & other solemn ties; there have bin multitudes induced to bind themselves upon some secret, loose, and mental reservation; which they

they have fram'd to themſelves as a *ſalvo* in caſe of breach: ſo apt we are in affairs of greateſt importance, to adviſe more with corrupt Wit, than ſound Conſcience.

In the Catalogue of ſelf-deluſions, you may poſſibly find theſe;

1. We are ready to interpret the words too kindly, eſpecially if they be ambiguous; and it is hard to find terms ſo poſitive, but that they may be eluded indeed, or ſeem to us to be ſo, if we be diſpoſed.

2. Some are invited to illicite promiſes *quà* illi-

cite, becauſe they know them to be invalid.

3. Some are frighted into theſe bonds by threats, and loſſes, and temporal concernments, and then they pleaſe themſelves that they ſwear by Dureſs, & ſo are diſ-inga;ed.

4. Some are oath-proof; I mean there are ſuch ſear-ſcul'd men, as will ſwear *Pro* and *Con*.

5. Some have learned from the *Civilians*, that though we ſwear to a thing not materially unlawful, yet if it impedes a greater moral good, it becomes void.

Grot. *de jur. belli*, 245.

6. Some take liberty to ſwear,

ſwear, becauſe they judge the perſon to whom they ſwear incapable of an oath: as *Cicero* defends the breach of oath to a thief, from perjury; and *Brutus*, to a Tyrant; as it is in *Appian*, οὐδὲν πιςόν ἐστι Ρωμαίοις πρὸς Τυράννους, οὐδ' ἔνορκον. *The Romans eſteem it an honeſt perjury, to violate their faith with Tyrants.*

The firſt ſort of theſe falls moſt properly under the notice, and practice of our Polititian; though he may alſo uſe the laſt, but at different times.

It is not difficult for him to caſt his deſire into ſuch ſoft glib expreſſion,

as will down with moſt: Yea, with many that would abſolutely diſavow the ſame thing in rough Language. If he be unskill'd in this black Art, I commend him to the Pædagogy of the *Delphick* Devil.

Now it is moſt certain there is no other tye of ſuch ſecurity, and eſtabliſhment, to a Perſon that hath raviſhed greatneſs, and acquired it by violence. Uſurpation hath only theſe two Pillars, its own Arms and Militia, and publick Oath and Acknowledgment; and it is ſcarce worth Query, whe-

whether, when the Groſs of a Nation is thus bound, the Oath be not as valid, and the Conſcience as much concerned, as if it had been ſworn to a lawful Prince. It is reaſonable, that an uſurping power cannot upon any prudent perſwaſion, have the ſame confidence in the love of the people that a Juſt hath: Nor is the following Government inticing, as *Tacitus* notes, *Nec quiſquam imperium malis artibus quæſitum benè adminiſtravit, Never any Kingdom, badly acquired, was well adminiſtred.* The ſame with *Cuazzo*, where

De civil. converſ. l.2.p.132 one objecting the vices of Princes, receives this anſwer, *Perchè non erano Prencipi per natura, ma per violenza, & erano più temuti che amati: Therefore they were not natural Princes, but violent Uſurpers, and ſo more beholding to the fear than love of their Subjects.* And therefore if the Polititian can by the bleſſed means forementioned gain a ſuperiority, there is no truſting to thoſe ingenious Guards, his own goodneſs, and the love of others: His beſt defence is awe, and fear, and Scaffold, and Gibbit, and the like. For he

he that hath no voluntary room in the hearts of his people, muſt uſe all means to gain a coercive.

For his own promiſes, he puts them into the ſame bottomleſs bagge, which the Poets ſay, *Jupiter* made for Lovers aſſeverations: His Word is as good as his Oath; for they are both trifles, as it is in *Plautus.*

---Pactum non pactum eſt, non pactum pactum eſt, cum illis Lubet: *Aululat.*

A bargain ſhall no bargain be,

If I can no advantage
ſee;
A bargain ſhall a bargain
be,
If it with my deſignes a-
gree.

'Twas he that firſt invented that uſeful diſtinction of a lip-oath, and a heart-oath; you may find him in *Euripides.*

Jurata lingua eſt, mente ju-
ravi nihil;

I with my Tongue can
ſwear,
And with my Heart for-
bear.

He makes good uſe of that

that in *Plutarch*, Τὺς μὲν παιδας ἀσεραγύλοις δεῖν ἐξαπατᾶν, τὺς δ' Ἄνδρας ὅρκοις, that Children are to be couſened with rattles, and men with oaths. *Apoph.*

'Tis an huge Advantage, that man hath in a credulous World, that can eaſily ſay and ſweare to any thing; and yet withall, ſo palliate his Falſifications and Perjuries, as to hide them from the Connuſance of moſt; the Polititian muſt be furniſhed with handſome Refuges, that may ſeemingly heal miſcarriages this way. He need not ſpend much time in

inquiry after ſuch helps; theſe declining Ages will abundantly furniſh his invention.

Co-

Colaſterion.

AN Oath is in its ſelf a religious affirmation, a promiſe with Gods ſeal; and therefore it concerns Chriſtians to be cautelous before ſwearing, to ſwear Liquidly, and to obſerve Conſcionably. 'Tis pitty ſuch ſlender Evaſions ſhould ſatisfie us, as have been ſcorn'd by Heathens. We are bound (ſaies one of them) to the ſenſe of the impoſer, or elſe we do ψευδορκεῖν; we are bound to the performance of what we have thus

thus ſworn, or elſe we do ἐπιορκεῖν: 'Tis much, that a moral Conſcience ſhould more check them, than a clearer light can awe us: as if they more honour'd the Genius of a *Cæſar*, than we reverence the preſence of a God: or elſe we ſhould never ingage in new proteſtations that do infer, yea, and ſometimes poſitively quarrel with old. They had their θεοὶ ἐπίορκιοι, their perjury revenging Gods, to whoſe vindictive power they referred their offenders: they puniſh'd ſuch as ſwore falſely by their Prince with fuſtigation;

But

But such as abused their Gods, were left to the dispose of their injured Deities, as if they were at a losse, how to find a punishment equal to the sin. Hear how soberly *Plato* mentions it (out of the noble Commentator upon *Philostratus*) *En toutes manieres sà este un fort belle ordinance & institutition, de n' user point du nom des Dieux Legerement, de peur de les contaminer; car la Majeste des Dieux ne se doit imployer, qu' en un saincte & venerable purete, It is wisely ordain'd, that the names of the Gods should not be used upon trifling occasi-*

ons,

ons, for fear of polluting them; for the Majesty of the Gods should not be imployed, but in holy and venerable purity. See what real honour they gave to their counterfeit Gods: Let us have a care, that we ascribe not counterfeit honour to the true God.

Casaubon exercitat 262. Our God hates every false Oath: It appeares in his severity to *Zedekiah*, for breaking Covenant with the *Babylonian* Monarch, though a Tyrant of the first magnitude.

Were all subjects duly solicitous about the weight of this bound, we should be lesse prone to take

take, & more ſtudious to obſerve it; I remember the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes*, derives ὅρκος, παρὰ τὸ εἴργω, τὸ συγκλείω, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ἕρκος, ὅτι εἴργει τὸν ὀρκίμενον. It hedges in, and ſhuts up a man, and ties his hands behind him; I know not how ſome Conquerours may cut this knot with the Sword, or how ſome *Sampſons* may ſhake off theſe cords, or what gaps the Licentious may make in this hedge; But ſuch as value God, or Heaven, or Prince, or Peace, can diſcover it no way better than in a ſincere uſe of ſo Divine an Ordinance.

There

There can be no certain rule given, when to believe, and when not, what such as are, or would be great, pleaſe to inculcate to us: I find more wracks upon the Rock of credulity: and 'tis no hereſie to affirm, that many have been ſaved by their infidelity; I commend that of *Epicharmus.*

Νᾶφε, κ) μέμνασο ἀπιστεῖν.

Prin-

Principle VIII.

Neceſsity of State, is a very competent Apology for the worſt of actions.

IT has been obſerved, that in all innovations and Rebellions (which ordinarily have their riſe from pretences of Religion, or Reformation, or both) the breach and neglect of Lawes hath been authorized by that great Patroneſs of illegall actions---Neceſſity.

ἐχθρα ἀναγκη, Sæva neceſſitas.

Now the Polititian is never without ſuch an Advo-

Advocate as this; For he cares not to distinguish, whether the necessity be of his own creating, or no, as for the most part it is, being indeed an Appendix to the wrong he undertakes, and signifies no more, than that he is compel'd to cover wrong with wrong, as if the Commission of a second sin were enough to justifie the first.

He changes that old charitable advice---*Benefacta benefactis aliis pertegito ne perpluant*; into *vitia vitiis aliis pertegito ne perpluant*: that so heaping one crime upon another, the

the latter may defend the former, from the ſtroke of juſtice.

He adores that Maxim in *Livy*, *Juſtum eſt bellum quibus neceſſarium, & pia arma quibus in armis ſpes eſt*, *That Warre muſt needs be juſt that is neceſſary, and thoſe arms pious that are all our livelyhood:* It were very incongruous to deſire that man to leave his crutch, that cannot walk without; 'tis no leſſe unnatural to invite him to quit his Sword, whoſe life and fortune leans intirely upon it.

If he can inſinuate the ſcope of the Warre to be

Le-

Legall, a little daubing will ſerve to Legalize the circumſtances: that of the Civilians muſt be remembered------*Licere in bello quæ ad finem ſunt neceſſaria, Nothing is unlawful in Warre, that ſerves the end and deſign of it:* the Oracles of the Gown are too tender for Swordmen; and it may be, he had wit in his anger, who affirm'd, that Martial Law was as great a Soloeciſm, as Martial Peace.

Victor. de jure belli. n, 18.39.

If the People be once poſſeſt that his aim and intention is fair, they will never expect that the *Media* for attainment of his

his end ſhould be retrenched by the ſtrict Boundaries of Law: He manages that rule very practically, *Rem alienam, ex quâ certum mihi periculum eminet, citra culpæ alienæ conſiderationem invadere poſſum, I may invade any thing of any mans that threatens certain danger to me, if I ſuffer him to enjoy it.* Now he can very plauſibly make this *periculum, certum*, or *incertum*, as ſhall beſt ſuit with his affairs.

Tis a broad liberty that *Grotius* concedes, *Quare ſi vitam aliter ſervare non poſſum, licet mihi* S. de jure Belli. vi p. 424.

vi quadicunque arcere eum qui eam impetit, licet peccato vacet; & hoc ex jure, quod mihi pro me natura concedit: If I have no other way to assure my life, I may by any meanes, repell any power that assaults it, though just: Self-defence being a clear dictate of nature. When Life, and Liberty, and Safety come in question, there ought no consideration to be had of just or unjust, pittiful or cruel, honourable or dishonourable.

Mach. on Livy, 627.

Now when the People have according to his desire, got over the great obstacle, & disgested the plot

plot for pious; it is eaſie to ſet all future proceedings upon the ſcore of Liberty, Safety, Religion: and if he be conſtrained to uſe means groſly unlawful, 'tis but to make them ſeem holy in the application, and all's wel. For it is the humour and genius of the Vulgar: when they have once ruſhed into a party implicitly, to proſecute it as deſperately, as if they were under demonſtrative Convictions of its Juſtice.

Finally, He muſt make a vertue of Neceſſity, becauſe there is no other vertue

vertue will ſo eaſily be induced to ſerve his proceedings as this; ſhe may well ſmile upon Licentiouſneſs, who hath her ſelf no Law.

Cola-

Colasterion.

LEt that great Rule be received, that no man can be necessitated to sin: Our Divines generally damn an officious lye; and the equity binds from any officious sin.

It would soon cut the nerves of the 8th Commandement, if Necessities & Urgencies, though reall, were pronounced a sufficient excuse for stealing. But that which our Politician calls Necessity, is no more then necessity of convenience, nor so much, except we interpret

that convenience, which may favour his own ends, and so is convenient for his design. He uses Necessity as the old Philosophers did an occult quality, though to a different purpose; that was their refuge for ignorance, this is his sanctuary for sin.

Less. l. ii. c. 12. dub. 12. un. 17.

Those Civilians that are most charitable to necessity, make it no plea at all, except it be absolute and insuperable; as by the Platonick Lawes onely those persons are allowed to drink at their Neighbours Well, that had in vain sought a Spring, by digging fifty cubits deep

in

in their own ground. We allow the disburdening of a Ship, in imminent perill of wrack; But this will not excuse those, who upon a fond or feigned prævision of a State-tempest, shall immediately cast Law and Conscience over-board; discard, and quit Rudder and steerage, and so assist the danger they pretend to fear.

Pausanias tells of a Chappel in *Acrocorinth*, dedicated to Necessity & Violence; those Twin-Goddesses may be fit objects for the worship of Heathens; but 'tis pitty they should be so much a- *Cœl. Rhodig.* 1025.

dored by Christians.

If I mistake not, the fundamental deceit lies in a greedy entertaining those first pretences, and seemingly candid Propositions are made to us, before they have passed those scrutinies, & severe inquiries they deserve; or been examined by the test of Gods word, and Nationall Lawes: All the rest are but ugly consequences of that absurdity we first granted; according to the antient Philosophick Maxime, Ἑνὸς Ἀδύνατα δοθέντος, πολλὰ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστι συμβαίνειν.

Prin-

Principle IX.

The Politician must wave all Relations, both Sacred and Civil, and swim to his design, though in a Sea of Blood.

SUch as study to be great by any means, must by all means forget to be good; and they that will usurp dominion over others, must first become slaves to the worst of Tyrants, a lust after greatnesse.

Crescit interea Roma Albæ ruinis, begins one of the Decads, that the walls

of *Rome* were cemented with blood, is known & commended by *Machiavel*; Although the superstructure was brave, yet if we search the foundation, we shall find it laid in the red ruines of her wasted Neighbours; that the first Founder became a fratricide upon reason of State, to guard his new Conquest, by freedom from a Competitor, is not only vindicated from cruelty, but asserted to be a piece of meritorious policy. Nor did this happen to the City in its structure alone, but after in its reparation; when the Sons of

Upon *Lib. l. 2. c. 3. The be marium, Timoleon fratrem. Gassius filium, hoc jure interfecêre.*

of *Brutus* were ſacrific'd to the deſign of their Father: So that *Rome* was not only nurs'd with blood, but after grouth and ripeneſs, ſhe ſuſtained her ſelf, lived and thrived upon *Magna & ſanguinolenta latrocinia*; ſo that our Politician can ſcarce want examples in the applauded actions of this City, to patronize the moſt crimſon and ſcarlet ſin, that ambition can prompt.

He admires the generoſity of *Nero's* Mother, who is reported to have ſaid of her Son, *Ἀποκτεινάτω με, μόνον βασιλευσάτω*;

Let my Son be my murderer, ſo he may be a Monarch: According to the adviſe of an high ſpirited fury, *Pro Regno velim patriam, penates, conjugem flammis dare, Imperia pretio quolibet conſtant bene*: An Empire cannot be purchaſed too dear, though it coſt the blood of Millions.

He is much taken with the Gallantry of the *Mamalukes*, who abuſed the eaſineſs of the Ægyptian *Sultan*, and wore the Supremacy three hundred years, upon the length and keenneſs of an uſurping Sword.

And

And rather then want a Bongrace, he commends the *Ottoman*-wiſdom; for the great *Turk* rivets himſelf to the Imperial Chair, with the bones of his murdered Brethren. Aſpiring deſires are not only inſatiate, but admit of any ſin, that will promote their ends: See *Baſsianus* murthering his Brother *Gota* in his Mothers arms; *Andronicus* ſtrangling his Couſin *Alexius*, leſt he ſhould have a part in the Empire that had right to all; See *Cæſar* ſlighting the Oaths by which he had obliged his obe-

dience to the *Roman* Senate.

Finally, Ambition knowes no confinement, nothing so sacred, but it violates. The Gods must bow and yield to it, as *Tertullian*, *Id negotium sine Deorum injuriâ non est, eadem strages mœnium & Templorum; tot sacrilegia Romanorum, quot trophæa; tot de Diis quot de Gentibus Triumphi*; *'Tis impossible to be ambitious without injury to the Gods; Temples themselves are not exempted from the fury of Warre; the sacriledges of the* Romans

In Apologet.

mans *were as numerous as their Trophies, yet the Gods followed their triumphant Chariots.*

Cola-

Colaſterion.

THe *Italian* Polititian ſeems to intimate a ſcruple, when he ſayes, —*Si jus violandum eſt, regnandi cauſa violandum eſt.* His (If) dictates an uncertainty; and if we appeal to the barre of nature, or Divinity (though poſſibly the entire aſſertion may have ſomething of truth) yet we ſhall find that wicked (if) abſolutely baniſhed.

'Tis true, we may more juſtly pitty him; that ſwallowes a bait fair and gliſtring, then a perſon

ſon that tempts temptations to deceive him; or catches at Flies, and trifling allurements; becauſe in the firſt caſe a greater reluctancy is requiſite, and the dart may poſſibly be ſo ſharp, as to pierce through the Armour of a ſober Reſolution; but all this will little ſuccour him, who knowes it to be a bait, and hath beforehand deſigned its beauty, and fairneſs, to apologize for the foulneſs of the ſin: for here the greatneſſe of the Temptation will not at all extenuate the groſſeneſſe of the crime: No more than he

mitigates his Robbery, who ſhall plead, that he ſtole nothing but Gold and Jewels.

The World is much miſtaken in the value of a Scepter or Crown, we gaze upon its brightneſs, and forget its brittleneſs; we look upon its glory, and forget its frailty; we reſpect its colour, and take no notice of its weight. But if all thoſe gay things which we fondly fancy to our ſelves were really to be found in Greatneſs, yet ſtill he payes too dear, that pawns his Heaven for it; he that thus buyes a ſhort

bliſſe,

bliſſe, gives not twenty, or an hundred years purchaſe, but (if mercy prevent not) Eternity.

It will be little advantage here, to introduce the example of a *Roman*, or *Turk*, or *Chriſtian*, if unlawful; ſuch preſidents may perchance baffle the Vulgar (in whoſe Creed you may inſert what you pleaſe) but will be very cold anſwers, when we appear before a ſevere Tribunall: It concerns us rather to obſerve how ambition claims kindred with every other vice, ſtoops and takes up every ſin lies in its way; and,

if

if upon enquiry, we find it to be indeed ſuch a complicated miſchief, it will become us ſtudiouſly to ſhun it our ſelves, and ſeriouſly to deteſt it in others.

Prin-

Principle X.

A generall Innovation contributes much to the growth and ſecurity of Uſurpation.

WE may receive this as a Tradition, handed to us from the great Patriarchs of Policy, atteſted by the practice of the ſubtileſt times; I preſume it may be grounded upon theſe, or the like perſwaſions.

1. Becauſe ſuch an Innovation raiſes the duſt, and begets a cloud for the main deſign; for when the waters are troubled, 'tis hard

hard to see the bait.

2. Because the Parenthesis betwixt an old and new Government, flatters the hopes of all parties, soothing those desires that are for a relapse into the old, and yet incouraging those that wish for the establishment of a new.

3. Because when all things are reduced into a Chaos and rude heap, when all the lines and Lineaments of the former Government are blotted out, that which is new written will be more legible, and the old sooner forgotten: for suppose a Kingdom made a Lump, with-

without ſhape and void, and it is like *materia prima*, prone to imbrace any form; when an Inſtrument is diſtun'd, you may ſet it to what key you pleaſe; and he that cannot ſometimes looſen the ſtrings, will never make good muſick upon *Syneſius* his Harp.

4. Becauſe by new moulding of Jurisdictions, and Offices of State, there may be a fair opportunity offered, of gratifying thoſe that have ſerv'd us; and for others, its very familiar to ſee ſome ſtubborn and rigid opiniators, who have continued

tinued long unshaken, either by threat or argument, at length to surrender their Principles, and bow the knee before the Dagon of Honour and Riches; such is the flexanimous power of golden Eloquence, as it is in the *Adage*.

Τὴν Ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν νεκροῖσι χελώνας.

The two great Pillars which the mind uphold,
Not being Mammon-proof, do bow to Gold.

Besides, we can find no better way to breed an absolute dependence, and make others adhere to our

our Fortunes, than by winding the concernments of other men upon the ſame bottom with our intereſt; we may obſerve this from the practice of great Favourites, who alwayes delight in theſe props, and are careful to ſet their whole Tribes in the Sun-ſhine of favour.

5. Becauſe ſuch a general Deordination gives a taſte and reliſh to the ſucceeding Government, though in its ſelf not ſo delectable; for *Ariſtotle* notes, that Democracy is better than Anarchy. 3. *Pol.*

There are many other ad-

advantages to be made by a due improvement of those turbid intervalls; as the occasion of subdividing, and parcelling out your great end; for by this meanes, they which refused to close with it in grosse, will receive it in retail: and having entertained some portions of it, the grudge they bore to the whole, will be by degrees quieted and appeas'd.

Besides, when all things are ruffled and confused, it is then the Devils Holy day, and therefore our workeday: The noise is so loud, that it drowns the

the voice of the Law; and there may be ſome truth in his waggery, who ſaid, That ſuch as mean to commit Rape upon the Body politick, muſt put out the Lawes; as others upon a like occaſion uſe to put out the Lights.

Finally, if we ever hope to ſin with impunity, to uſurp proſperouſly, or to govern Arbitrarily; we muſt take out that Leſſon in *Plautus*:

Idem facere, quod plurimi alii, quibus Res timida aut Turbida eſt; Pergunt turbare uſque, ut ne quid poſſit conquiſcere.

If

If my own affaires require,
I can set the State on fire.
Let the ruin'd Kingdom
bleed,
So my private ends may
speed;
I can dance in such a storm,
'Tis a new way to reform.

Cola-

Colaſterion.

THis moſt certain, that ſiniſter ends are promoted by Innovations; but it lies in our boſoms, to promote or quench the Innovations themſelves; which we can no way better do, then by a ſtrict adherence to the Lawes; for as long as we maintain them, they will maintain us: If we obſerve theſe, it will reſcue us from the hands of State-Noveliſts; for we are not fit for their turns, till we are croſſe-byaſſed with faction.

As a caution againſt changes in Government, give me leave to repeat, what was long ſince told us by an ingenious Lord, ---That all great mutations are dangerous; even where what is introduc'd by that mutation, is ſuch as would have been very profitable upon a primary foundation: and it is none of the leaſt dangers of change, that all the perills and inconveniencies which it brings, cannot be foreſeen; and therefore ſuch as make title to wiſdom, will not undergo great dangers, but for great neceſſities.

Faulkland.

But

But further let me appeal to general experience; yea, let me ask thee (Reader) if thou haſt never before heard, or read of a Nation, that was once the gaze and envy of its Neighbours; and yet being inſenſible of its happineſs, or poſſeſt with fond hopes of bettering its condition, has cloſed with pretended friends, and reall enemies, and gladly contributed to its own ruine.

So apt men are to catch at the ſhadow, though they hazard the ſubſtance: we may gueſſe at the morall of the Frogs

in the Fable, who could find no ſatisfaction in a ſtill Prince, and were after forced to abide the ſeverities of a Tyrant they prayed for.

But if there be ſuch diſtempers in a State, as ſhall neceſſarily require amendment, let it be done with the Pruning-hook of the Law, and not with the Sword of violence; For I never read, that Illegal, or Tumultuous, or Rebellious, were fit Epithets for Reformation. And 'tis fit Chriſtians ſhould forbear the uſe of ſuch ſurly Phyſick, till they have levied a Fine in

the

the Court of Heaven, and out of the Intail of the seventh Beatitude.

This may suffice to reveal in some measure *Arcanum Ambitionis*, ὑπερηφανίας μυστήριον. I could add much more, but that I judge it a fitter task for our Nephews, when Pens shall be infranchised.

And now (Reader) let us mix our prayers, that God would for ever banish this cursed Policy out of *Europe*, and the whole Christian World; and damn it down to Hell, from whence originally it came: and let such

as delight to abuſe others, think of that ſelf-couſenage, with which in the interim they abuſe themſelves; God permitting the Devil to revenge the Impoſture. And whileſt we are buſie with Politick ſtratagems, and tortious arms to invade the rights of others; let us all conſider, that this is not the violence which takes Heaven.

Let it be a piece of our daily Oraiſons, that God would guard our Pulpits from ſuch Boutefeu's, as like *Ætna* and *Veſuvius*, belched out nothing but flames and fiery diſcourſes,

ſes, uſing the Scripture as prepoſterouſly & impertinently, as ſome Pontificians, who tranſported with the vehemence of Hildebrand's zeal, think the temporal Monarchy of Popes ſufficiently Scriptural from the ſaying of Chriſt to *Peter----- Paſce oves.* Far be it from us to intitle the Spirit of God to exorbitant doctrines: it is eaſie to diſtinguiſh the Vulture from the Dove. The miſcarriages of the Clergy have a deeper ſtain from the ſacredneſs of their function, as probably he that invenomed the Euchariſt, has the

more to anſwer for his Triple Crown.

It is manifeſt, that we are fallen into the dregs of time; we live in the ruſt of the Iron age, and muſt accordingly expect to feel, *Ultima ſeneſcentis mundi deliria*, the dotages of a decrepit World: what is become of truth, ſincerity, charity, humility, thoſe *Antiqui mores*, whither are they gone? Did they attend *Aſtræa* into Heaven, and have left ſuch degenerous ſucceſſors, as cruelty, pride, fraud, envy, oppreſſion? *&c.* Such qualities as abundantly juſtifie the worſt

worſt of Heathens, and diſ-honour the name of Chriſtians: I think it may ſafely be affirmed, that if a new *Europæ ſpeculum* were ſincerely written, it might be contracted into this ſhort Summary;

Novi ego hoc ſeculum quibus moribus ſit; Malus bonum malum eſſe vult, ut ſit ſui ſimilis; turbant, miſcent mores malt; Rapax, Avarus, Invidus, ſacrum prophanum, publicum privatum habebit;

I know the various humours of our times;
He that is wicked now, inflames his crimes.

Modern Policy.

By making Proſelytes to hell;
and he
Joyes in it, that he may have
company
In rapines, murders, theſts;
now none can have
His own, except he be
like them, *a knave.*
The Church is ſtripp'd by ſa-
crilegious hands,
They that divided all, divide
the Lands.

Hiulca Gens, &c.

Wolves are of late turn'd
Shepheards, ſurely we
That have ſuch Guardians,
are extremely free.

That

THat Eternal Majeſty, which raiſed ſo brave a Fabrick out of ſuch indiſpoſed materials; that weilds the world with his finger ever ſince it was made; that controules the Waves, and checks the tumult of the people; that ſits above, and laughs at the malignant Counſels, and devices of wicked men: Let his mercy be implored for the ſpeedy ſuccour of his diſtreſſed Church; That the Rod of *Aaron* may bloſſom; That the Tabernacle of *David* may be raiſed; That the ſubtile

may

may be caught in their own ſnare; And that the Reſult of all afflictions may be the greatning his Glory, and exalting of his Scepter.

FINIS.

Books printed for *Thomas Dring*, and are to be sold at the *George* in *Fleet-street* near *Cliffords* Inne.

Law-Books.

THe *Reports of that Reverend and Learned Judge, Sir* Rich. Hutton *Knight, in fol.*

The twelfth part of the Reports

ports by Sir Edw. Cook, *in fol.*

The Reports of that learned Judge, Owen, *in fol.*

The Reading upon the Statute touching Bankrupts, by John Stone, *in Octavo.*

The Law of Conveyances of all manner of Assurances, with directions to sue out, and prosecute all manner of Writs, by John Hern *Gentleman, in large Oct.*

An Abridgement of the Common Law, with the Cases thereof, drawn out of all the old and new new Books of Law, for the benefit of all practicers and Students, by W. H. *of* Grays Inn, *Esquire.*

An

An Abridgement of the Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, by W.H. *of* Grays-Inne, *Esq*;.

The Reports of Serjeant Bridgeman, *in fol.*

The Grounds of the Lawes of England, *extracted out of the* Fountain of all Learning, *and fitted for all Students and Practitioners.*

Artamenes, *or the* Grand Cyrus, a Romance *compleat in five Volumes, by* Mounsieur de Scudery, *in fol.*

Cloelia, *an excellent* Romance, *by* Mounsieur Scudery, *in three Volumes,*

lumes, and tranſlated by J. D.

Aſtrea, *an excellent* Romance, *full and compleat in three Volumes in fol. and tranſlated by a perſon of Quality.*

The Hiſtory of Philoſophy *in two Volumes, by* Tho. Stanley, *Eſq.*

The Hiſtory of the warres betwixt Swedeland *and* Poland, *by* John Fowler *in fol.*

Anti-Socinianiſm, *or a* Confutation *of the* Socinians *Hereſie, with a deſcription of the lives, and true relation of the deaths of the Authors and pro-*

promoters of that Sect; and by whom it was brought into England, *by H.* Chewney, *M. A.*

Mr. Cragge *against* Tombs *with a Conviction of* Anabaptism.

The Life and Death of Freeman Sands *Esquire, by* R. B.

An Exhortation for desperate sinners, written by that Right Honourable, the Lord Viscount Grandison, *Prisoner in the* Tower.

A Sermon preached at the Assises at Huntington, *by* J. Gaul.

Mr. Sands *Paraphrase upon the* Psalms, *in large* Octavo.

Good

Good thoughts for every day in the moneth, by D.S.

Gods houſe, with the nature and uſe thereof, as it ought to be underſtood and reſpected by Chriſtians, under the Goſpel, by Symon Gunton, *M.A.*

Eight Sermons, by Mr. Cragge, *with a Treatiſe concerning the lawfulneſs of Mariage by the Miniſter.*

Mirſa, *A Tragedy really acted in* Perſia, *by* R. B. *in Octavo.*

Five new Playes, written by R. Brome, *in Oct.*

Amorous *Poems, by* Edw. Sherburn, *Eſq.*

Pocula Caſtalia, *by* R. B. *Eſquire.* *Poems*

Poems by William Hammond, *Esquire.*

An Apology for Paris, *by* R. B. *Esq.*

A Catalogue of the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen that have compounded for their Estates, with the sums that payed their Compositions.

The second part of Massiniello, *with a Continuation of that Tumult, by* J. H. *Esquire.*

The Natural & Experimental History of Winds, written by the Lord Bacon, *and translated into* English; *by* R. G.

A Panegyrick *of the Queen of* Swedeland.

Letters

Letters of Affaires, Love and Courtſhip written to ſeveral Perſons of Honor and Quality, by the exquiſite Pen of Monſieur de Voiture, *a Member of the famous* French Academy, *eſtabliſhed at* Paris, *by* Cardinal de Richlew.

Londinopolis, *an Hiſtoricall Diſcourſe of the City of* London, *whereunto is added another of the City of* Weſtminſter, *with the Courts of Juſtice, Antiquities, and new Buildings thereunto belonging, by* J. Howel *Eſq.*

A Trance, *or* Mercurius Acheronticus, *by* J. Howel, *Esq.*

Modern Policy, *taken from* Machiavel, Morgia, *and others, by an eye witnesse.*